

The New Nation

Edward Bellamy — Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

We are glad to see it, — our eastern farmers' papers here in the East comparing notes on socialism and nationalism. The New England Farmer takes to task the Vermont Watchman for its definition of socialism and adds: "Socialism, as we understand it, is, in its essence, nothing but co-operation; in the somewhat technical why in which the word is commonly used it means co-operation on such a scale as to in-

clude all the people of a town, state or nation co-operating through the machinery of government. For instance, the post office management is an instance of socialistic work; when a town or city builds a sewer or constructs a system of water-works, we have more socialism." This is specifically nationalism. The Watchman responds that "if that were all, we should not have any objection to socialism." What it objects to is the tyranny of socialism. Perhaps it objects also to the tyranny of the United States post office. At any rate we trust this discussion will become contagious.

The People's Party not to be Made a One-Idea Party.

The importance of the struggle over the money question in the coming session of Congress, seems to "rattle" some of our contemporaries among the people's party papers. Undoubtedly the fight for bi-metalism now coming on is to be a big one, but it is not necessary nor advisable in stating this fact to belittle or discredit, or in any way to relegate to the background or to the future, the other principles of the Omaha platform. We do not object to any reasonable statement of the importance of the financial question. It is of the first order of magnitude; but we do object, and a large part of the people's party will be found very vigorously objecting to any talk that looks like side-tracking in the interest of the money question the other quite equally important reforms to which the party is pledged.

For example, there are divers orators and a few papers of our party which permit themselves to say such things as that all other issues must be postponed to the money question, that this is the paramount issue, that it is logically and necessarily the first issue and that until it is settled we cannot properly take up the other issues, that if we are beaten in the contest for bi-metalism we are crushed, and that if we win in that fight all the rest will logically follow.

These statements and others like them are one and all as untrue as they are impolitic. The people's party is not a party of one idea. It does not carry all its eggs in one basket. It does not march in single file.

Desirous as we are to see the full bi-metallic idea prevail, with the exclusive governmental issue of money, it is

not true in any sense that the rest of our program depends on the triumph of these ideas or would be rendered impracticable by their defeat. If that were so our outlook would indeed be dreary, for he must be a sanguine person who believes that, at best, our side can do more than to obtain a compromise on these points, while it is certainly possible that bi-metalism may be quite knocked out. Suppose the latter event to take place, what then will those people's party papers be able to say which have beforehand declared that all the prospects of the party depend on the result of the money fight? They will logically have to throw up the sponge, will they not? But the people's party will not throw up the sponge. Dear brethren, let us avoid hysterical politics.

There are three possible results of the silver and currency fight in Congress. It may result in a victory for the gold standard people, or it may result in a victory for full bi-metalism. Thirdly, it may result in compromises that will suit nobody and settle nothing and mean an indefinite protraction of the dispute. The last result is much more probable than either of the others.

Is anybody foolish enough to suppose that the people's party is going to wait the settlement of this possibly interminable wrangle before bringing to the front any other of its propositions? Are we to continue to tolerate the Western Union's telegraph monopoly? Are Kansas, Nebraska, California and all the states for that matter, to sit still while the railroads complete their iron net about them? Are we to adopt no policy of resistance to land monopolization East and West? Are we to do nothing about the coal combine? Are we to postpone state control of the traffic in intoxicants? Are we, in a word, to lift no hand or voice against any of the monopolies the people's party has challenged until, forsooth the money question is settled? Such talk is nonsensical and not to be tolerated. Bi-metalism is no doubt to be desired as a relief to the country and to be energetically contended for, but it is not true that the cause of human equality, to which the people's party is devoted, is in any more particular or important way dependent on that condition than many others, or would be more seriously set back by its defeat than by the defeat of other reforms. Surely it is within the resources of the human language to express the importance of a particular proposition without discrediting other propositions equally important.

The people's party, if it is to come to anything, has got to be what it calls itself, an alliance of the wage-worker with the farmer, and the Omaha platform furnishes the basis of such an alliance. If, however, the planks in which the wage-worker and the artisan are particularly interested are to be set aside as in any way less important, or "damned with faint praise" the idea of such an alliance had better be given up right away.

We stand by the Omaha platform in its entirety and we question the fidelity to the platform of those who apparently are interested in only one feature of it. If one part of the platform is to be "the paramount issue" and the others made secondary to it, we maintain that no body of less authority than another national convention is competent to so declare. We think this will be the opinion of the majority.

The Women in Line.

An interesting recent feature of the people's party move-

ment in Kansas is the organization of the "Women's Progressive Political League." This body is made up exclusively of women in sympathy with the principles of the people's party; women who are sympathetic with the republican and democratic parties not being eligible. With a view to clearing up misunderstandings on this subject the secretary of the league has just issued an address, quoted from elsewhere in this issue, in which she affirms that the organization is distinctly affiliated with the people's party and especially devoted among the other objects of that party to woman suffrage and public management of the liquor traffic. The rise of this organization may perhaps be regarded as suggestive of the prominent part which women everywhere are destined to take and the decisive influence they are sure to exert in the great movement for radical social reorganization which the people's party, with its nationalist principles, so far, most notably represents in this country. The interests of men are indeed bound up with the fate of this cause, but even beyond men, are women concerned in its triumph. While nationalism is the cause of manhood, it is pre-eminently the cause of womanhood, for while it promises man deliverance from economic despotism it promises woman deliverance at one blow from economic and sex slavery. The women of Kansas have from the start been "the better half" of the revolution there, and it is fitting that they should lead in calling women everywhere to take a stand openly in defense of principles in whose victory or defeat they have so much at stake.

The Liquor Business Always a State Monopoly, Whether Indirectly or Directly Exercised.

When it was first reported that Judge Hudson of one of the minor courts of South Carolina had decided against the state monopoly of the liquor traffic, it was supposed that the supreme court of the state had already decided in its favor and that the contrary ruling of a minor court would be of no importance. It appears however that the supreme court decided only an incidental point relating to the form of the bill and expressly reserved the question of its constitutionality. It seems, therefore, that this point remains to be settled by the supreme court on appeal, and an adverse decision may put an end to the whole experiment. It is for the interest of the state to get the question settled as soon as possible, as its dispensaries are now being enjoined right and left on the strength of Judge Hudson's decision.

The points of Judge Hudson's decision are of two kinds, the greater part of them being directed against particular features of the law, especially the extraordinary search and seizure powers and other high-handed interferences with personal liberty and property by which the provisions of the law are to be enforced.

When, however, his honor goes further and declares the assertion of a state monopoly of the liquor traffic or of any other trade or business to be under all circumstances opposed to the general principles of law and justice and to be dangerous to republican institutions and the liberties of the people, he is floundering in water that is over his head.

His main point is that such an assertion is an interference with the liberties of individuals to engage in business. He argues that the state would have no right to grant a monopoly to individuals to pursue an especial business as

against other individuals and consequently that it has no more the right to assume such a monopoly itself. Surely the judge was napping when he forgot that a principal business of state legislatures consists in granting privileges to groups of citizens to monopolize particular businesses. Every time a legislature grants a franchise, exclusive either in terms or practical effect, to a water company, a lighting or local transit company or to a railroad company, it grants a monopoly to certain individuals, and restricts the liberty of citizens in general to enter into that trade, both which things the judge says it has no constitutional right to do. The state cannot delegate powers which it has not the right to exercise. If it can grant a monopoly to others, it can much more assert that monopoly itself.

The judge is particularly unfortunate in applying his argument to the liquor selling business. By universal consent and practice, it is in the power of any state either to delegate the sale of liquor to private monopolies or altogether to prohibit it. Every liquor license issued establishes a private monopoly. Is there a law student in the country callow enough to argue that the state cannot retain in its own hands and itself exercise a monopoly which it admittedly has the right to delegate to others? Where was the right of monopoly before it was delegated to licensees?

Was it not in the hands and discretion of the state? Will Judge Hudson explain where else it could have been?

Or take it the other way. It is admitted that South Carolina or any other state has a right totally to prohibit to citizens the sale of liquor. Having thus, in the exercise of its undoubted right, totally prohibited the trade to citizens, wherein can the state be said to further injure its citizens or interfere with any liberties left them when it goes into the business itself? It is certainly odd that Judge Hudson did not think of this.

In the course of the extension of public management in the public interest over all business, which nationalism proposes, there may be various constitutional snags to be avoided or, if necessary, uprooted by constitutional amendments, state or federal; but certainly there are no such snags in the way of state monopoly of the liquor business, for in all parts of the country the states have long ago taken that business out of the free field of competition and placed it upon a strictly monopolistic basis. Prohibition states peddle out the monopoly to druggists, and license states to applicants with "pulls," but in both cases the sale of liquor is a monopoly delegated by the state and protected by the state police. In neither state is it a business open to the general public. The direct exercise by a state (as in South Carolina's case) of its monopoly, instead of its indirect exercise through licensed delegates, may surprise people by its novelty, but it involves not the slightest change in the legal and constitutional view of the matter. There is no new principle introduced, but only a change in the method of applying a long recognized principle.

While we defend and advocate the principle of the direct and responsible exercise by a state of its monopoly of the liquor traffic, as the best way of dealing with the liquor business, we are not to be understood as defending the South Carolina law. We condemn, on the contrary, in the strongest manner, the attempt to make a revenue out of

the business, and we also condemn its inquisitorial, violent and vexatious clauses, not only as outraging personal rights, but as offering a premium on its own violation.

Massachusetts Democrats find Public Ownership Good Politics.

The democrats of Massachusetts under their present leadership are playing a much better game of politics than their old opponents. The announcement is made that Mayor Matthews of Boston and not Josiah Quincy will be the party candidate for governor next autumn. If the following from the Advertiser can be relied upon, it must be confessed that the democrats realize the immense political importance of public ownership in this state.

He will run on his record in the gas fight, and on the promise, if governor, to stir up the sinecures and corporations more than Gov. Russell has ever thought of doing. The democratic party will be pledged to all that, while the Matthews people figure out that the republican platform will not be very aggressive on these lines with ex-Gov. Robinson, T. J. Coolidge, H. C. Lodge and Congressman Wright heading it. Matthews has nothing to do to secure the nomination, and, with his decision to run, can set to work at once to plan out his campaign, get his literature ready, and make his combinations. He expects and will receive the opposition of every gas and electric light corporation in the state, the managers of which sat by and saw the Bay State company overhauled, and are now realizing that this step is their own destruction, as it will lead to a great movement next year in favor of municipal lighting without any restrictions to protect the present private companies.

"IS IT SOCIALISTIC FOR THE STATE TO PERFORM THE STATE'S FUNCTIONS?"

S. S. Ketchum of Trinidad, Colorado, sends a letter to the Springfield Republican which is so full of hard sense that we quote it. He says:

"The evident truth of the charges made in the columns of the Republican against corporations holding contracts for the performance of state and municipal functions, and the fact that the mismanagement and corrupt practices of this class of corporations are no worse in Massachusetts than in any other state, and are as common now and as uncontrolled, leads to the natural inference that these evils are inherent in the system of delegating governmental functions and the farming out of public business to individuals and corporations. Justice Bradley of the United States supreme court says: 'When a railroad is chartered it is for the purpose of performing a duty which belongs to the state.' Why should this duty be farmed to a corporation? Again that court says of railroad companies: 'The function performed is that of the state.' Is it socialistic for government to perform the state's functions?"

"The same court said in another case: 'In modern times, it is true, government is in the habit in some countries of letting out the construction of important highways requiring a large expenditure of capital, to agents, generally corporate bodies created for the purpose, and giving them the right of taxing those who travel or transport goods thereon as a means of obtaining compensation for their outlay.' Is it any less burdensome for the people to pay the taxes imposed by a private corporation like a railroad company than to pay the taxes imposed by a public corporation like the state for the same purpose? And is not the debt of a railroad company substantially a public burden during the life of its contract?"

A LEAF FROM THE DEVIL'S JEST-BOOK.

Beside the sewing table chained and bent,
 They stitch for the lady, tyrannous and proud —
 For her a wedding-gown, for them a shroud;
 They stitch and stitch, but never mend the rent
 Torn in life's golden curtains. Glad Youth went,
 And left them alone with Time; and now if bowed
 With burdens they should sob and cry aloud,
 Wondering, the rich would look from their content.

And so this glimmering life at last recedes
 In unknown, endless depths beyond recall;
 And what's the worth of all our ancient creeds,
 If here, at the end of ages, this is all —
 A fair face floating through the merry ball,
 A dead face plashing in the river reeds?

CHARLES EDWIN MARKHAM in the Cal. Illustrated Mag.

THE OUTCOME OF THE BATTLE OF STANDARDS.

[Edward Bellamy in the Boston Globe, Sunday, July 16, 1893, on the question: "Will gold become the sole unit of value, and will silver cease to be used as money?"]

This question is merely an aspect of a larger one, namely, whether the money power is to grow to complete mastery or not. The interest of the monopolizers of money is in having its value as high as possible and its supply as small as possible, since thereby their control of the world by its means is made more complete, inevitable and easy of exercise. The movement toward the gold standard is a part of the great modern tendency to the centralization of the economic government of the world in the hands of a few.

The resistance to the gold unit in the interest of a bi-metallic or broader basis and larger money supply represents an effort of the people to repel this tendency and resist this domination. It is democratic and popular in sentiment and breathes the spirit of resistance to tyranny. Is it, then, to be a successful resistance? I must say that, while I heartily sympathize with it and will do all I can to further it, I doubt if it will be in the end successful, and this not at all for moral but entirely for what may be called strategic reasons.

As I said, the gold unit movement is a part of the great modern tendency to suppress the free competitive system in the interest of centralized and combined economic administration. In resisting it the bi-metallic or broader money basis party is, in strict economic terms, necessarily arrayed in defense of the old-fashioned free competitive system.

Now, while the free competitive system would be vastly better than the centralized despotism of capital which the bi-metallic party is resisting, it is a doomed and dying system to which the world will never return. Capitalistic oppression, using the new and all-conquering method of concentration, cannot therefore be successfully resisted from behind the decayed and dilapidated breastworks of free competition.

The forces arrayed on the popular side of this money standard struggle may make a more or less stubborn battle, but they will eventually be forced to surrender unless they take the higher ground of nationalism. The only way to

meet the method of concentration applied in the interest of the few is by applying the same method in the interest of the people. Modern artillery cannot be met by ancient ordnance.

So we may be sure in the end the battle between the money standards will become a battle between the present social system and a system that will need no money standard, because it will not measure men's rights that way. The money problem will never be solved; it will be abolished. Money is the root of all evil, and can never be made to grow straight or bear anything but apples of Sodom. It will never be effectually treated save by extirpation. Gold will not conquer silver, nor silver gold, but men will conquer both and put them under their feet.

WHAT THE FARMER THOUGHT OF THE STOCK ARGUMENTS AGAINST SOCIALISM.

The recent parliamentary campaign in Germany, although nominally begun on the issue of the army bill, became, before it was ended, merely a struggle between socialism and anti-socialism. The following anecdote from the other side is illustrative of the way the German farmers are beginning to comprehend the socialistic idea:

In a village of Bavaria, where for the first time since Adam the Socialist candidate led the polls, and a second election was necessary between him and the candidate of the ruling class, there sat, a few days after the first election the leading capitalist landlord of the region, the local parson, the village schoolmaster and the tiller of a small farm, around a little table at the inn. The small farmer had never before been the subject of such tender solicitude on the part of present company. All three had formerly habitually turned their noses upon him; now, however, they affected great friendship. From inquiring after his health, and such courtesies, the capitalist landlord, the parson and the school master turned to politics, as if by the purest accident, and for some time they talked at the farmer, running down the socialists, whose recent campaign-literature they knew had made a marked impression upon the small working farmers of the neighborhood.

Having prepared the ground in this way, at a wink from the capitalist landlord, the parson addressed the farmer directly, depicting to him the wickedness, godlessness and criminal disposition of the socialists, whose sole object, the parson declared, was to overthrow religion and abolish wedlock.

The farmer smiled upon the parson when his reverence stopped for breath, and shaking his head answered: "Religion has nothing whatever to do with politics, especially not with the Reichstag elections; socialists do not interfere with any one's predilections as to the way to reach heaven, they leave every one free to believe what he likes. As to the abolition of wedlock, I have yet failed to learn that the socialists are especially guilty of immorality, while on the other hand, one hears every day such charges against other people, including, I am sorry to say, sometimes even the clergy."

For a moment there was a painful pause among the trio, who had come to pull the wool over the farmer's eyes. They looked at one another, not knowing what to do, until,

nudged by the capitalist landlord, the teacher sailed in with a long speech, taken almost verbatim from Herr Richter's book against socialism, about the tyranny implied in the proposed commonwealth. "Everybody," the teacher closed with emphasis, "would have to work; early in the morning everyone would have to report to his overseer, who would distribute the work among them; and he who should refuse to work, would be driven to his task with a whip."

The smile on the farmer's countenance broadened. "It is just the reverse," he answered, "but even if it were actually so, what of it? Today I am forced to work, and to work long and hard; I am forced to be up early. By four o'clock in the morning, when others are still snoring and getting over their previous night's debauch, I am on the field, and I rarely get home again before night. If, indeed, everyone was forced to work in the socialist commonwealth I would at least have the pleasure of seeing a lot of people, whose bellies are full, and who have never done a stroke of work, also driven and forced to toil as I am now; moreover in that case I would have positive relief, their work would lighten my present unbearable burden. If all worked, I reckon eight hours a day would be ample!"

The big capitalist landlord kicked the parson and school master under the table urging them to keep at it, and the latter started anew. He took up the argument of the leveling tendency of socialism, and declared it would do away with family life, "there will be," he said, full of indignation, "big feed troughs, and the same sort of soup will be ladeled out to all!"

"Would it were so!" sighed the farmer, "That would suit me to a t. Today the weakest sort of soup is all that falls to me. But yonder, where the gentleman keeps house," nodding to the big property-holder, "and quite frequently also at your tables," nodding to the parson and the school-master, "there is so much good roast beef, chickens, ducks, pigeons, eggs and what not, that if it all were boiled up in the general soup, then we small farmers would get at least something of all those dainties, and would not go hungry as we do now."

The big property-holder grew red in the face, rose and without saying a word or even finishing his beer he left the company.

The parson and the school-master looked cheap and embarrassed, then tried to prolong the discussion, but the farmer put an end to it by rising and declaring with exasperating stolidity: "We are not afraid of the socialist commonwealth, it is our salvation, but even if it were all that you people affect to believe, it would be a decided improvement for us small farmers and all the poor people. So then, you may save your breath and know it now as well as later—the 'soes' will get our vote and that ends it."

COMPETITION A CURSE.

At a recent meeting of the National Furniture Manufacturer's association at St. Louis, Otto Stechhan of Indianapolis, Ind. was elected president. Mr. Stechhan is a manufacturer and successful business man, and has been a prominent member of the state board for industrial schools. In his address to the association, among other things, he said:

"Competition at one time was considered the life of

trade, but this maxim has long ago become a fallacy and competition, if anything, is a veritable curse instead of a blessing. Competition is the cause of all the attending evils associated with the manufacture of furniture. Margins have become so small that every insignificant item which enters into the cost of manufacture becomes a factor of importance. Every incidental must be calculated to a fraction if you wish to be able to hold your own, to say nothing of realizing a mere interest on your investment. The city manufacturer, if he would place his goods on the market at actual cost today, could still be undersold by his boom town competitor 10 per cent, and yet give him a reasonable margin on his output. But what does this indicate? Does it mean that the village manufacturer can purchase his lumber, hardware, varnish, mirror plates or other material at a less price than his competitor in the city? Or is it not a fact that such is not the case, but rather that it is done at the expense of human muscle and brain, at the expense of impoverished labor, of demoralized homes, and at the expense of the health and happiness of the people who are so unfortunate as to be compelled to work for starvation wages.

"Every \$9, \$10, yes, \$15, chamber suit, or \$3.50 lounge, or \$1.25 bedstead placed on the market today is a curse to the community, not referring to its poor intrinsic value. It means that labor has been degraded and pulled into the mire; that it has been brought on a level with convict labor; that we are producing a new race of slaves. It means that thousands of children are taken away from school at a time when they should be acquiring useful knowledge; that they are wearing out their young lives in the shops and factories, in the dust, grime and smoke. It means an impoverished race; it means slavery in its worst form.

"This gentlemen, is the situation of the furniture industry today; this is what we have to contend with, and we must look it in the face and endeavor to find a remedy; it is a question of patriotism, as much as one of a reasonable return for our invested capital. Personally I am so indignant at this deplorable state of affairs that I would be perfectly willing to join hands with the labor unions with a view of assisting them to have the light shine into the darkened homes of their deluded brethren who are making themselves innocent tools in bringing about a crisis in the furniture industry. The fact is that the difference in price of any piece of furniture placed on the market today represents just exactly to what extent the respective producer has been able to squeeze his laborers. The situation is getting more desperate every day, and we will be compelled to take some steps to reform on the impending question."

Senator Chandler says, talking about the silver question, "A panic, a depression of values and a ruin of business men and debtors, unparalleled in the nation's history, will follow from even an attempt made seriously and by any considerable power and influence to force gold mono-metallism upon the government of the United States."

Martin Beckhard in the Conservator: "In opposition to the individualistic philosophy we shall keep true to the principle that whatever concerns humanity is our business."

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

"It is told in Nehemiah," says Millicent Garrett Fawcett, "that when the walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt after the captivity, women as well as men shared in the work. Our country now wants the hearts and brains of its daughters as well as the hearts and brains of its sons, for the solution of many perplexing and difficult problems." True enough, and the true way to enlist women in the service of civilization is to work for their economic independence as would be the case under nationalism. The Humanitarian, a monthly magazine printed in London, notes the fact that at none of the many meetings of women's associations in June was the industrial position of women mentioned. The logical course of agitation is first political equality and then economic equality.

A correspondent from New Mexico says that the statement copied by us from the World's Advanced Thought that the Holland Land company owns in New Mexico four and a half million acres of land is incorrect. The patented area of the grant which the company owns is 1,714,000 acres, of which 100,000 acres have been sold. We gladly make the correction. The change of figures does not, however, affect the conclusions drawn from these large holdings of land.

The Coming Nation mentions a draft drawn by a Kansas bank on a New York bank sent to a party in Pueblo, Cal., which draft the bank refused to cash. The Pueblo party then asked to have the money sent by registered letter or postal order. It is the government that shines in times like these.

The decision of the judge against the South Carolina liquor law is that it is unconstitutional because the state has no right to engage in trade in competition with individuals. Now let the Legislature amend the liquor law by removing the element of profit and this point will be avoided.

Western farmers are feeding wheat to their hogs. The millers' combine will be pleased at this, while the pork combine will take good care that the eastern consumers shall not get the benefit of it in the shape of a reduction of the retail price of pork.

"No word is so abused nowadays as the word socialism. Christ would have used it if he had lived in our time. His ideas are embodied in it. It is often linked with its opposite—anarchism—as if the two meant the same thing, whereas they are opposite poles of economic thought. They are as far apart as night is from day. It is often confused with force, whereas it is coming on us as gently as the sun dawns. It will finally be seen that Christianity holds socialism in its right hand." These are the words of no less a man than Rev. A. E. Dunning, editor of the Congregationalist, in his address before the Christian Endeavor convention at Montreal on Sunday, July 9.

There is talk of a nationalist assembly at Needham, Mass., on the Chautauqua plan next month. The place selected is a beautiful oak grove owned by C. Atherton Hicks, a member of the Needham Nationalist club, who will give information as to tents, terms, etc.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

NATIONALISTS TO MEET IN CHICAGO.

Plan for the Committee of Correspondence at its Meeting Next Month. Note and Comment.

The time is now at hand for the meeting of the national committee of correspondence which was organized by nationalists at Omaha last year. The New Nation has already announced that the committee will assemble at Chicago, August 30, at 2 p.m., at the residence of Mrs. Corinne S. Brown, 6230 Woodlawn avenue. Members not able to attend are requested to send proxies. As the committee was formed for the purpose of bringing nationalists together and to systematize the work of spreading the principles of nationalism, a cordial invitation is extended to nationalists in general to be present and join in the deliberations. At Mrs. Brown's and at the office of Jesse Cox, Room 13, 95 Fifth avenue, registers will be kept where nationalists may leave their names, addresses and consult bulletins of meetings, etc.

The plan of the committee as arranged at Omaha was one committeeman for each state, a sub-committeeman from each Congressional district, and a resident correspondent in each town and city.

At the Chicago meeting the elaboration or the amending of this plan will be considered. In order to facilitate matters the secretary has asked Eltweed Pomeroy, state committeeman for New Jersey, to sketch out a plan for the work of the committee. This he has done and it is printed below. Members of the committee have been asked to prepare five minute addresses on certain points in this plan, so that the committee will have a symposium on propaganda work. Persons having additional suggestions or any other plan of organization are urgently requested to give them in person at the Chicago meeting or by writing to Mason A. Green, General Secretary, 13 Winter street, Boston, Mass. Mr. Pomeroy's plan is substantially as follows:

PLAN FOR PROPAGANDA WORK.

Each state in the Union and province in Canada to be represented on committee.

Each town, village and ward of a city to have a correspondent.

Representatives and correspondents to be selected as the committee may direct.

The work naturally divides itself into (1) work of state representatives; (2) work of local correspondent.

State Representative: His work to be (1) the keeping of a register of the local correspondents and information as to the work. (2) Reports to headquarters about January 1 of the names and addresses of local correspondents and their work, which will be incorporated into the report of the secretary at the annual meeting. (3) Secure from local correspondents, as well as subscription lists, reform papers, labor and reform organization membership, papers, individual knowledge and information, a list of people in state which shall be classified as (a) active nationalists who are willing to work, (b) nationalists unable to do

propaganda work, (c) sympathizers and those likely to become nationalists. This list should be kept alphabetically and by towns, and the state representative should give the detail work to some club or to friends in order that it may not become a burden to him. (4) Supplying to local correspondents lists of reform books, tracts, newspapers and periodicals with special rates and trade prices if possible, urging their sale and the organization of local reading circles, where a book is loaned from friend to friend. (5) The preparation in co-operation with the local correspondents of a list of public speakers who are willing to perform that service for their traveling expenses, also the special topics they treat. (6) The appointment of a nationalist (preferably one who lives at the capital) who will follow legislation and act as the representative of the nationalists in urging special measures.

Local Correspondent: His work to be (1) securing names of nationalists, copies of lists to be forwarded to state representative. (2) Encouraging clubs for discussing nationalism, Cold Cut dining clubs, research clubs, lectures, rallies, etc. (3) Taking subscriptions for nationalist papers and selling and distributing reform books, tracts, etc. (4) Circulating of petitions for public ownership of local services like lighting, water-works and street cars, and of national services like government telegraph, railroads and the like. (5) Furnishing of nationalistic news to local papers and provoking discussion by communications. (6) Encouraging the formation of citizens' leagues for the purpose of agitating in favor of the municipal ownership of gas, street railways, markets, baths, etc.

Circumstances will determine the best way to agitate in towns and cities. Teachers and college professors are becoming interested in the growing demand for public ownership and in the growth of the nationalistic sentiment; so also the wage workers. The committee work should be made as self-supporting as possible. Some definite form of agitation, like pressure brought upon a board of aldermen or a Legislature has been found to be the best way to make a nationalist club effective, and money contributions for definite purposes are not difficult to obtain.

We trust that our readers will scan carefully this skeleton of Mr. Pomeroy's, and forward any suggestions they may have, so that the very best possible program may be submitted at the Chicago meeting. The object of the correspondence committee is to secure a minimum of organization with a maximum of concerted action.

The nationalistic agitation has now progressed far enough to enable many to give from practical experience suggestions as to the best way to push the work. Let these men and women give the committee the benefit of their experience even if they cannot go to Chicago. The above plan is only designed to be a skeleton of one way to reach the masses. We would only say in particular that nationalism is taking a deep hold upon women, who are nationalists from the nature of the case. The economic independence of women is their manifest destiny, and it seems the most direct way to the rights which they seek to secure. The committee may well remember this in planning out its work.

The Coming Man a Nationalist.

J. W. Reid of Reidville, S. C., secretary of the Farmers'

state alliance of South Carolina, has written for the local papers an elaborate analysis of the political situation and argues that the people's party is nearer his idea of the demands of the hour than any other party. He believes that the coming man will be a nationalist. He expects to see the country carried by the populists in 1896 and by the nationalists in 1900. In the course of the article he says: "Have you ever read Edward Bellamy's book *Looking Backward*. If not, do so as soon as convenient. It won't hurt you; on the contrary it may give you some new ideas and lead you into a new line of thought. When you have read it, ten chances to one your comment will be, a fine social, financial and political condition, but it is impossible. Such a state of affairs would be the millennium. To toss it off, with the remark that it is impossible, won't put a stop to it. Somehow or other it is a kind of a thing that won't down at the bidding of any one man or set of men. . . . Nationalism would solve all the knotty, social, financial and political problems on the basis of equal rights to all and special privileges to none." The Carolina Spartan, a democratic sheet, prints Mr. Reid's article with this observation, "While we may not endorse the ideas he advances, we certainly endorse his plain, straight-forward method of dealing with important questions. Such articles will do good. They are worth infinitely more than columns of editorials and communications praising scheming politicians who look only to self. Give the article a careful reading and then decide 'where you are at.'"

Industrial Conference of Southern California.

The great industrial conference at Long Beach, Cal. last week was a booming success. Speakers discussed all the planks of the Omaha platform. One episode is thus described by Editor Wilkins of the Fresno National Spectator: "Rev. R. M. Webster, a Congregational minister of Long Beach preached a sermon to the conference that they are still talking about. Mr. Webster is a nationalist, and he preached the religion that Christ taught. This was such a surprise to the audience that they applauded him again and again. If such sermons could be preached every Sunday in all the pulpits of the land, the churches would be crowded to overflowing by the very laboring people who today look upon the church as their bitterest enemy."

Nationalization of Liquor Good Politics as well as Sound in Principle.

The New York Voice appears to be getting the better of those prohibitionists who criticised its course in advocating state traffic in liquor in anti-prohibition states and municipalities. That the nationalization of the liquor plank promises to be good politics is very apparent. Take South Dakota. The liquor issue has in past years been the cause of ill-natured contentions in the conventions. Last year the platform committee of the people's party spent four hours in drafting a liquor plank and finally made no mention of the subject, although a majority of the convention were prohibitionists. This year the following plank passed unanimously: "We demand the nationalization of the liquor traffic, beginning with the state dispensary system, with the elimination of all profits to either individual, municipality or state." The position taken by papers like the Voice and by men like H. L. Loucks, president of the Farmers' alliance, is probably responsible for the conversion

of the South Dakota Prohibition league at its recent meeting. While no formal motion was passed, the league after a protracted discussion seemed practically in favor of nationalization of the liquor traffic. The people's party convention this year adjourned in the best of spirits, which is quite in contrast to the ruffled feelings of last year due to the unsettled rum issue.

Note and Comment.

The Winterset Review wants the Iowa people's party convention to adopt a state ownership and control of the liquor traffic.

Tom Watson, who was counted out in 10th Congressional district of Georgia, is holding tremendous populist meetings in various parts of the state. He will not be counted out next time.

Cleveland Citizen: The Prohibitionists met in convention in this city this week and nominated a state ticket. The populists met at Columbus on July 4 to nominate a ticket. The demands of these two parties are nearly identical — if the liquor question be excepted. Both are in favor of government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, government money and banks and other reforms of like character, and there is small reason why they should not get together. Now socialize the traffic by state control and abolish profits.

The Republican, a paper published at Cedar Rapids, says: "Men are now plowing corn in Nebraska who will live to see the overthrow of every trust and business monopoly in the nation. This means that he will live to see all railroads, telegraphs and telephones in the possession of the people, and the gold, silver and coal mines and all lands containing valuable minerals owned by the government. The party is now organizing which will live to see its accomplishment."

National Watchman, Washington, D. C.: "There can be no silver party. There is not enough in the silver question to warrant the formation of a party. Free coinage of silver is but a single factor in the great movement for reform."

The Virginia populists are evidently making ready for a rousing campaign this fall.

George H. Cary addressed the Boston People's Party club at Marble hall, 518 Tremont street, Thursday evening.

The Iowa populists have planned out a lively campaign for this summer and autumn. The state convention meets at Des Moines, September 5.

The democratic Buffalo Courier is practically committed to support the populists on local matters on a platform of public ownership. It says: "Every city ought to own its water-works. And if water-works why not gas and electric light works, street cars and telephones?"

The Woman's Progressive Political league, a strong organization in Topeka, has issued a circular declaring: "In view of a misunderstanding largely conveyed through the press, as to the object of our organization — we, the ladies

of the Woman's Progressive Political league, wish to state that we are a people's party organization first, last and all the time. And we advocate all reforms tending to the relief of the people, including woman suffrage and control of the liquor traffic."

In the face of the vote of the socialist labor party at Chicago sitting down hard upon the people's party, the Pittsburg (Pa.) socialists are uniting with the populists in forming a local ticket.

Even democratic papers in Texas admit that the next time Judge Nugent runs for governor on the populist ticket he will be elected.

The populist central committee of Washington state is preparing a pamphlet containing reform articles written by prominent populists.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat: The third party is a reading party. It is also a writing and thinking party. Right or wrong it has reached a magnitude far beyond our expectations, and it means revolution.

Chairman Hackney of last year's republican convention in Kansas has been denouncing his party for not passing a good railroad law, as the railroads in his opinion "are the greatest enemy of Kansas." It is understood that Hackney is about to join the populists.

The Union Printer believes in government ownership of the telegraph, but is not pleased with the resolution passed by the International Typographical union favoring government telegraph because it will draw the union into politics. If the printers of this country ever get their rights as producers, it will be through the ballot and the ballot only.

Oregon Populist, Albany: "It has been so long since we nationalized the postal service that the people really forget the wonderful advantages to be gained by nationalism. No, there are double the number of converts to this noble cause there were 18 months ago, and we have absolutely lost none, however it may appear. It is true and undefiled Christianity, spelled with a big C."

The Wall street cry for a repeal of the Sherman silver-purchasing act is based upon the argument that the present crisis is occasioned by a currency that is being depreciated by silver inflation. An inflated currency means always a boom in the prices of products. That is, the cheaper a dollar the less in commodity one has to give to get a dollar. But wheat, wool and other produce is steadily declining. The logic of Wall street is absurd on the face of it.

"The very idea of a community of goods involves the idea of the highest possible virtue, a virtue to which as yet no considerable portion of the human race has attained." So remarks A. H. Moncur Sime in a London periodical. He thinks therefore that the time has not yet come for socialistic experiments. He wants first to educate people to a higher plane. The very idea of an umbrella involves the highest state of dryness in a rain storm. The first great thing to do is to educate people up to a state of dryness in which they will be worthy of umbrellas when they are passed round. This is the logic of Moncur Sime.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

The report of the Haverhill Water commissioners shows that water rates have been reduced the past year. Under private management many large real estate owners secured special rates. Now all are treated alike, and the result is favorable to public ownership. The city advertised for bids for a new 20-inch iron main, but found that it could do the work \$1,334 cheaper than the lowest bidder. The work was therefore done under the supervision of the superintendent to the satisfaction of the public.

The Newburyport water company wishes to get rid of its plant and offers to pass its rights and privileges over to the city for a reasonable price. The impression is that the city will accept if the figures can be agreed upon.

A citizen of Lynn, recently petitioned the city government to change the grade crossing of an electric and a steam car road. The street car company also petitioned for a change to a less frequented street, or be relieved from responsibility for accident. Then came petitions opposing the request, the men circulating them being, it is said, friends of the street railway. At the hearing members of the city government charged the company with insincerity in presenting their petition for a change. The upshot of the matter is that no change will be made in spite of the popular demand for it. A few more episodes of this kind will make Lynn ripe for a municipal street railway system.

New York.

A special committee of the common council of Rome has been authorized to employ an engineer to make surveys and prepare plans for an electric lighting plant.

Ohio.

Elmwood Place is to vote in a few days on a proposition to build an electric light plant.

Michigan.

Dowagiac has decided on popular vote to buy a \$10,000 electric light plant.

Kansas.

Pittsburg Kansan: Public ownership of the mines will settle forever the troubles between miners and operators.

Miscellaneous.

The Great West, St. Paul, Minn.: President H. L. Loucks and his Dakota Ruralist are making a strong argument for nationalizing the liquor traffic. It seems to be the window of light on the great issue. The New York Voice has adopted the principle—and thousands of stern prohibitionists—as a step onward. It robs the saloon of its tremendous money power, profit power.

Cleveland Citizen: The fear of government tyranny and oppression is childish. It simply means that the people distrust themselves, for the government is, or should be, simply the instrument of their will. If they learn to trust,

to mold and shape the government, they may place all the industries in its hands without fear that it will usurp functions not properly delegated to it. All the so-called tyranny of government has been small compared with the tyranny and oppression of individuals. If the government operated all industries, every worker would receive the full fruits of his toil. This will be the final solution of the social question. Call it socialism, or give it any name you please, but it is the only system that will secure justice for those who toil.

The Nation, Red Cloud, Neb.: Amid the crash of banks and demoralization of business is the time to show the people the necessity of government postal banks. Postal notes and money orders are a start in that direction already. One hundred and thirty-nine million dollars were sent in a year by this means without loss to senders. If the post office can do that much banking business with absolute safety it can do more.

Foreign.

A writer in the American Architect and Building News has this to say about municipal tenement houses in London: "One result of the advent of the London county council to power has been the increased activity that is being shown in municipal housing of the poor. The council's predecessors confined their attention to the preparation of sites for artisans' dwellings, leaving the actual buildings to be erected by private enterprise. But it was found that this system involved many disadvantages. The control of the municipality was limited to the approval of the plans and the general supervision of the work, but these safeguards, excellent enough in theory, were not found to work altogether satisfactorily. The influences operating on the minds of the private speculators were necessarily chiefly of a financial character, and this did not tend to encourage the highest development of sanitation and general convenience that the available resources might have warranted. The first direction in which the London common council turned their attention was to common lodging-houses. The combined dwellings, which are now being erected in various parts of London, are of the same nature as those already erected by the companies, but of an improved type. Each tenement, for example, is entirely self-contained and consists of a living-room, one or two bedrooms, a scullery containing sink and copper, a disconnecting lobby open to the outside air, from which the water-closet is approached. The council have, I understand, been approached with the view of constructing a woman's lodging-house on parallel lines to that erected for men and seem to be entertaining the proposal. The chief argument that has been urged against municipal enterprise in this direction is the tendency that it will have to stifle private enterprise, but this prophecy has not yet been in any way verified. London is large enough to provide room for many persons to work and if the ultimate result proves to be the general improvement of the whole of this class of buildings, the slight risk of interference will be held by most people to have been justified."

Milan is so satisfied with its municipal lighting experiment that it is now building a street railway system.

It is proposed to establish an immense iron manufacturing plant in Mexico, probably at Monclova, in the state of Coahuila, where there are extensive iron deposits located adjacent to the finest bituminous coal beds in that country. It is intended that this one concern shall supply the present demands of the country, although auxiliary plants already in existence in Durango and other plans will probably be continued in operation. About seven different companies are interested in the scheme, their combined capital amounting to several millions.

THE ARMED CAMP OF COMMERCE.

<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>	<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>	<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>	<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>
Acid	2	Distilling and cattlefeeding	34	Mineral water	25	Shot	
Alcohol	5	Dressed beef and provi-		Morocco leather	2	Smelters	25
American corn harvesters	5	sion	100	Music publishing and in-		Snath	1-2
American wringer	2 1-2	Dye and chemical com-		struments		Spring bed and mattress	
Axe	15	bine	2	Naval stores combine	1	Soap	1-2
Barbed wire	10	Electric supply	10	Nitro-glycerine		Soda water apparatus	3 1-2
Bleachery combine	10	Electrical combination No.2	2	Oatmeal	3 1-2	Sponge	1-2
Biscuit and cracker	12	Envelope	5	Oil cloth	2 1-2	Standard oil	90
Bituminous coal	15	Flint glass	8	Paint combine	2	Starch	10
Bolt and nut	10	Flour mill		Paper bag	2	Steel and iron	4
Boiler	15	Forge companies		Paper box	5	Steel rail	50
Borax	2	Fork and hoe	1	Patent leather	5	Straw board	8
Brass	10	Fruit jar	1	Pearl barley		Structural steel	5
Broom	2 1-2	Fur combine	10	Pitch	10	Sugar refiners'	75
Brush	2	Galvanized iron and steel	2	Plate glass	8	Table glass and crockery	
Buckwheat	5	Gas [New York]	35	Plow		Tin plate	
Butchers' supply		General electric	50	Pocket cutlery	2	Tissue paper	10
Button	5	Glove	2	Pork combine	20	Tobacco	35
Canned goods		Gossamer rubber	12	Powder	1 1-2	Tombstone	
Canned meat and dressed		Green glass	4	Preserved jelly m'f'g	12	Trunk	3
beef		Gypsum stucco mills		Preservers' combine	8	Tube	11 1-2
Cash register	10	Harvester	1 1-2	Pulp	5	Turpentine	
Carbon candle	3	Hinge	1	Ribbon	18	Type-founders	9
Cartridge	10	Hop	1-2	Rice	2 1-2	Umbrella	8
Casket and burial goods	1	Hide dealers		Rock salt	5	Vapor stove	1
Castor oil	1-2	Illinois steel	50	Rubber General shoe	2	Wall paper	38
Cattle feeders		Indurated fibre	1-2	Rubber trust No. 2	7	Watch	30
Celluloid	8	Iron and coal	10	Safe	2 1-2	Water-works & pumping ma-	
Cigarette	25	Iron league	60	Safe No. 2	5	chinery	
Colorado coal combine	20	Jute bagging		Salt	1	Wheel	1
Condensed milk	15	Label printing		Sandstone	1	Whip	1-2
Confectioners	2	Leather board	1-2	Sanitary ware	3	White granite	
Copper ingot	20	Lime	3	Sash, door and blind	1 1-2	White lead	30
Cordage	15	Linseed oil	18	Saw	5	Window glass	20
Crockery	15	Lithograph	11 1-2	School book	2	Wire	10
Cotton duck	10	Locomotive tire	2	School furniture	15	Wire rod	
Cotton press	3	Lumber	2	School slate		Wood screw	10
Cotton seed oil	41	Manilla tissue	2	Screw		Wool hat	1 1-2
Cotton thread combine	7	Marble combine	20	Sewer pipe	2	Wrapping paper	1
Cutlery	1 1-2	Match	7 1-2	Sheet copper	40	Wrought-iron pipe	
Cut nail		Merchants' steel	25	Sheet steel	2	Yellow pine	2

Free competition has fostered the monopolization of industries to such an extent that the price of nearly every necessity of life is fixed by a private trust. We have taken the trouble to prepare a partial list of the more important private trusts built mainly on the ruin or surrender of small businesses. The item of capitalization is continually changing, as the stock usually increases as fast as new companies are taken into the combination. While our figures are in many cases estimated, they may be safely accepted as the approximate capitalization for the purposes of discussing the business situation. Several trusts we have not even attempted to estimate. Whether we look at the moral or the commercial side of the question, the disappearance of small industries is alarming. Take the white lead trust, which is known on the stock exchange as the National Lead company. Its outstanding certificates aggregate 30 million dollars. In 1889 the trust controlled a majority of the stock in 31 companies, including the plant of three smelters and one refinery for the production of pig lead. Over eight millions of the stock is water. There is probably not a company of the original 31 which is not the result of local combination and rivalry disastrous to small concerns. Tariff reduction tends to solidify rather than destroy the trust. Of the 4,047 recognized millionaires, only 1,125 won their fortunes in protected industries.

Among the most dangerous combinations of the land is the Western Union Telegraph company. Upon it is based a daily newspaper monopoly which has had a tendency to lower the general tone of editorial discussion upon this subject.

The New Nation is circulating a petition asking Congress to take over the telegraph and telephone and run it for the people. The spirit of reform now moving upon the waters is economic and practical in temper. The people's party has made a record of a million votes as a starter. One demand in its platform is for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. Let every populist and reformer join the great company that will knock at the door of Congress next session to demand the public ownership of means of communication. Send for a petition, a copy of which we print below, and request all reform papers to reproduce it in its columns:

[Return to The New Nation, 13 Winter Street, Boston, Mass., by Nov. 1, 1893, at latest.]

TO THE HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

Your petitioners, the undersigned citizens of the United States, residents of the State of _____ respectfully represent that the telegraph service of this country has become a burdensome monopoly in the hands of a company extorting in charges more than twice as much as the people of other countries, favored with government lines, are obliged to pay, — a company that uses to the utmost its great capital to eradicate all fair competition, and exerts a baneful control over the press upon which the citizens are forced to rely for information.

We also represent that on the expiring of the telephonic patents, now soon to occur, a similar monopoly in that method of transmitting intelligence is likely to be established, as grievous to the people as that of the telegraph.

We therefore respectfully petition your honorable bodies to pass laws establishing a Government telegraph and telephone service

[When this sheet is full, paste on strong paper of equal width and continue signatures.]

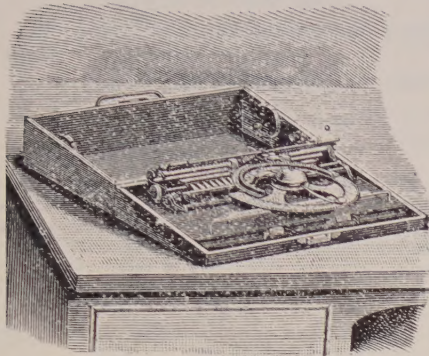
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"Liberty Tree Block," 630 Washington Street.

BOSTON, JULY 1, 1893.

TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC:

Only little more than four years have elapsed since our club, the first in the world, was formed. Within that short time the nationalist idea has commended itself to the American public to an extent far exceeding our most sanguine hopes. The influence we have brought to bear upon legislative action has been remarkably successful, and many issues that we have raised have been taken up enthusiastically by citizens at the polls. Our ideas are becoming actualities. The times are ripe. Organized effort will now carry things with a swing, but IT MUST BE ORGANIZED EFFORT.

Do you believe in the nationalization of industry and thereby the promotion of the brotherhood of humanity, or, are you with us in the work of nationalizing the railroads, telegraph, telephone, express or any of the so-called natural monopolies? Do you wish to be identified with us and count for something? If so, you can render important assistance to our work. The way we propose is this: We have opened a **CORRESPONDING MEMBERSHIP** of this First Club, asking for members all over this Union, requiring an admission fee of \$1.00, and a yearly due of \$1.00, the money to be applied by the club to Nationalist work, pure and simple. Each corresponding member is entitled to all the publications to be issued by the club, and will be considered a centre for the distribution of such publications. We give a Certificate of Membership, handsomely gotten up, to each Corresponding Member. Come in and share the victories to come.

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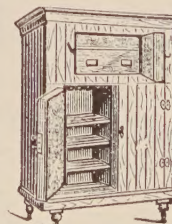
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